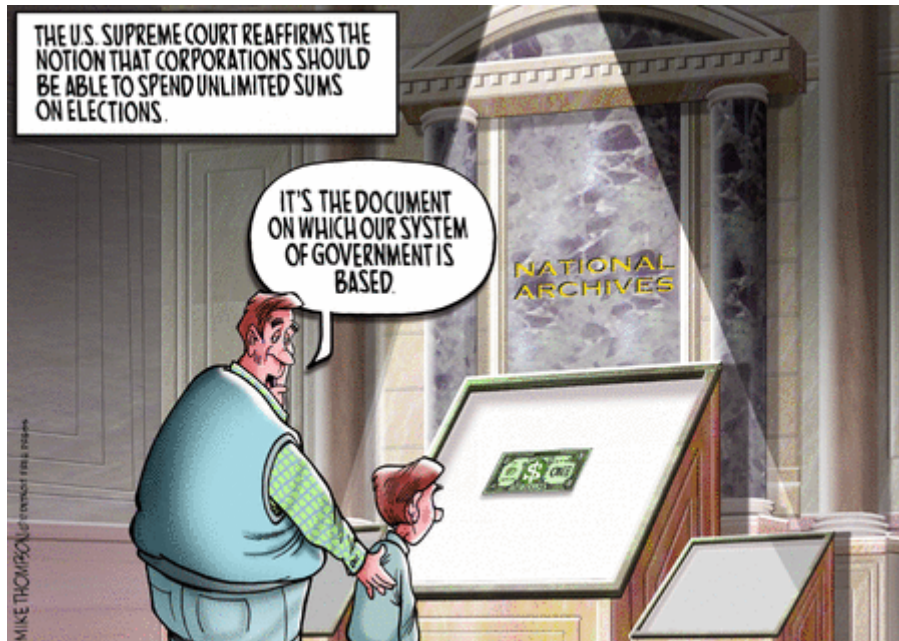


## **Military Resistance 10G3**



**“Requiring Soldiers To Have No Sideburns Or Shaving When Off Duty Is Almost Laughable”**

**“I Guess Recruits With Sleeve Tattoos Are Only Good Enough To Put In Harm’s Way But Not Good Enough To March Around A Peacetime Post”**

**“The Soldiers We Enrolled With These Tattoos Served Honorably”**

# “Such An About-Face Is Absolutely Disgusting And Belittles Us As An Organization”

5.21.12 By Lance M. Bacon, Army Times [Excerpts] [Last in the series.]

Pending changes to at least 17 grooming regulations have evoked a flood of passionate responses from the ranks, for and against — but mostly against.

The comments have been prevalent in blog and Facebook posts as well as letters to Army Times.

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## “Would Command Sergeants Major Like Me To Put A Video Camera In My Bathroom?”

- Shorter sideburns:

How is this going to make them more proficient in their soldiering, warrior ethos, or how this is going to assist in living the Army Values?

- Clean-shaven on and off duty, even during leave.

**Would command sergeants major like me to put a video camera in my bathroom mirror where they can verify that when I’m on leave, I have shaved properly every morning?**

- Men will be prohibited from wearing cosmetics.

I have been in the Army for 15 years and have never seen a male soldier wearing makeup, so is this necessary?

- Tattoos will not be visible above the neck line, extend below the wrist line and not be visible on the hands.

**Why was it OK for soldiers to serve in Iraq and Afghanistan with sleeve tattoos, give up their lives in the defense of this country, get back home and some CSMs decide that is not appealing to the uniform?**

Why was it accepted then and now it’s not?

- Hair grooming standards will become more restrictive and better defined.

The current regulation is already restrictive enough. Non-commissioned officers just need to start enforcing the current regulations.

**Some of the best soldiers I have ever served with didn't have a "high-and-tight."**

It does no good to come up with myriad policy changes when leaders aren't enforcing current regulations.

If the Army isn't careful, it is going to lose a lot of good, patriotic Americans. We have the best-trained, best-educated, most powerful military in the world, and requiring soldiers to have no sideburns or shaving when off duty is almost laughable when you look at the big picture.

Chief Warrant Officer 2 Nicholas B. Seymour  
Camp Shelby, Miss.

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**"The Soldiers We Enrolled With These Tattoos Served Honorably. Such An About-Face Is Absolutely Disgusting And Belittles Us As An Organization"**

**I am offended and disgusted that the Army would alter the tattoo rules as they intend.**

**Reintroducing these prewar standards is a slap in the face to many honorably serving soldiers who courageously enlisted during the war years: We are saying that we wouldn't take them today.**

I served as recruiting battalion executive officer from 2001 to 2007.

**In 2001, it made local and national news when I denied enlistment to an applicant with a sleeve tattoo.**

**Then we went to war and the Army had difficulty getting recruits and I watched the tattoo standards change rapidly: first sleeves, then hands, then neck and then even tattoos up behind the ears were allowed.**

**The soldiers we enrolled with these tattoos served honorably.**

Now that times for recruiting are a bit better, we find applicants with such tattoos unworthy of enlistment despite their personal goals and ambitions?

**Such an about-face is absolutely disgusting and belittles us as an organization.**

I guess recruits with sleeve tattoos are only good enough to put in harm's way but not good enough to march around a peacetime post.

**I find the SMA's snarky comment that "the Army didn't choose you" to be extremely offensive.**

**We sure chose those Americans when we were failing the recruiting mission.**

Maj. Andy Entwistle (ret.)

Fort Leavenworth, Kan.

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**“So When I’m Walking Back From The Gym, I Can’t Take A Swig Of Water?”**

SMA Chandler has crossed the line with his tougher grooming regs. No body piercings visible, no tats visible above the neckline, no purple hair, these I get.

**But clean-shaven at all times, including when on leave?**

**Really?**

**I can’t let my whiskers bloom while I relax on vacation?**

**No sideburns below where the ear attaches to the head?**

**That is just kooky.**

**Why not just put a salad bowl on our heads and shave away?**

Don’t the current regs say the sideburn can’t go below the midpoint of the ear?

What’s wrong with that?

And this rule about no eating, drinking, smoking while walking is pretty silly too.

**So when I’m walking back from the gym, I can’t take a swig of water?**

**What about when deployed in a hot climate?**

**We have to stop, come to attention, salute, take a sip and march on?**

We chose to join the Army, but the Army can still treat us like professionals and not students from a 19th-century reform school.

Capt. Erik I. Thiesmeyer Sr. (ret.)  
Grover Beach, Calif.

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**“Don’t They Know The Umbrellas Will Scare The Horses?”**

I am concerned about the proposed change that “men will be authorized to carry a black umbrella with the Army Service Uniform.”

**What are we thinking?**

**Don’t they know the umbrellas will scare the horses?**

If this is implemented, request permission to carry a riding crop or swagger stick in uniform (except when in the Improved Physical Fitness Uniform, of course.)

Col. R. Bruce Chisholm  
Camp Arifjan, Kuwait

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## **AFGHANISTAN WAR REPORTS**

### **Father Of Fallen U.S. Marine Talks About His Last Phone Call**

06/26/2012 By: Cheryl Conner; ABC2News

LAUREL, Md. - Gene Mills walked out his front door on Father's Day 2008. He grew up in Laurel, graduated from High Road Academy, and before he turned 18 his dad signed the papers for him to join the U.S. Marines. It's a mission he had since 9-11.

"A marine recruiter walked him out this door and of course I didn't see him for 13 weeks afterwards, but as soon as that door shut I cried like a baby," said Gene Mills, Jr., Lance Corporal Mills' father.

After boot camp in Paris Island, SC, Mills went on his first deployment to southern Afghanistan in 2009. His second started five months ago in the Helmand province.

He was able to call home more frequently, giving his father and younger brother some ease. The last call came three days before the dreadful knock.

"And then he said, one more mission pop and I'll be home.

"And then he always ends with I love you pops and of course I tell him I love him back. And then the world changed," said Mills, fighting back tears.

Dog tags now hang around Mills' neck. The family is sharing stories, like the one that shows Mills was a man before his time.

"I said let's help Mr. Bob with his groceries because he would carry his groceries with his crutches. And I never had to say a word again. He would see Mr. Bob's van pull up and he would say 'dad I'm going to help Mr. Bob,'" said Mills.

That same spirit is how he served his country and why his younger brother still wants to join the marines.

"He did something that he always wanted to do, and he did something that not many people would even try to do and now he's in a better place right now," said Jake Mills, Lance Corporal Mills' younger brother.

His 10-year-old cousin Hannah has written a letter.

"You were the perfect role model for me and everyone else," she said.

The flags at Laurel City Hall are flying at half staff until Mills is laid to rest. His body was brought back to Dover Air Force Base on Monday.

"In most cases, they're only heroes when they die. And they were heroes way before that. And we need to remind ourselves of that," said Mills.

Gene Mills, Jr. is a retired Prince George's County Police corporal.

A police procession is being planned for Friday morning to bring his son from Dover to a funeral home in Elkrige. The details of a viewing and funeral are still being arranged.

**POLITICIANS REFUSE TO HALT THE  
BLOODSHED**

**THE TROOPS HAVE THE POWER TO STOP THE  
WAR**

## **SOMALIA WAR REPORTS**

### **“Heavily Armed Gunmen Attacked On A Convoy Of Vehicles Carrying The Government Army At Tuulo-Barwaqo Township”**

June 30, 2012 Shabelle Media Network

MOGADISHU - At least two soldiers are reportedly killed after gunmen launched an ambush attack on Somali government troops in Gedo province, southwest of the country, residents said on Saturday.

The attack came after heavily armed gunmen attacked on a convoy of vehicles carrying the government army at Tuulo-Barwaqo township, a village sits between Bald-Hawo and

Garbaharey towns near Somali border along with Kenya. Two government soldiers reported dead.

“The army convoy was traveling from Balad-Hawo back to Garbaharey, the provincial capital of Gedo when they were came under attack by armed groups at Tuulo-Barwaqo area, some 22 kilometers north of Garbaharay,” a resident told Shabelle Media by phone.

During the combat, the two parts used different weapons including rocket propelled grenades, mortars and machine guns, according to the local inhabitants.

No government Official in region has yet released any comment on the attack.

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## **FORWARD OBSERVATIONS**



**“At a time like this, scorching irony, not convincing argument, is needed. Oh had I the ability, and could reach the nation’s ear, I would, pour out a fiery stream of biting ridicule, blasting reproach, withering sarcasm, and stern rebuke.**

**“For it is not light that is needed, but fire; it is not the gentle shower, but thunder.**

**“We need the storm, the whirlwind, and the earthquake.”**

**“The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppose.”**

Frederick Douglass, 1852

One day while I was in a bunker in Vietnam, a sniper round went over my head. The person who fired that weapon was not a terrorist, a rebel, an extremist, or a so-called insurgent. The Vietnamese individual who tried to kill me was a citizen of Vietnam, who did not want me in his country. This truth escapes millions.

Mike Hastie  
U.S. Army Medic  
Vietnam 1970-71  
December 13, 2004

**Insurrection:**  
**“Even In The Classic Time Of Street  
Fighting, Therefore, The Barricade  
Produced More Of A Moral Than A  
Material Effect”**  
**“In All Cases The Fight Was Won  
Because The Troops Failed To Obey,  
Because The Officers Lost Their Power  
Of Decision Or Because Their Hands  
Were Tied”**

1895; Friedrich Engels; The Road To Power [Excerpts]

Let us have no illusions about it: a real victory of an insurrection over the military in street fighting, a victory as between two armies, is one of the rarest exceptions.

But the insurgents, also, counted on it just as rarely.

For them it was solely a question of making the troops yield to moral influences, which, in a fight between the armies of two warring countries do not come into play at all, or do so to a much less degree.

**If they succeed in this, then the troops fail to act, or the commanding officers lose their heads, and the insurrection wins.**



**If they do not succeed in this, then, even where the military are in the minority, the superiority of better equipment and training, of unified leadership, of the planned employment of the military forces and of discipline makes itself felt.**

\*\*\*\*\*

The numerous successes of the insurgents up to 1848 were due to a great variety of causes.

In Paris in July, 1830 and February, 1848, as in most of the Spanish street fights, there stood between the insurgents and the military a civic militia, which either directly took the side of the insurrection, or else by its lukewarm, indecisive attitude caused the troops likewise to vacillate and supplied the insurrection with arms into the bargain.

Where this citizens' guard opposed the insurrection from the outset as in June, 1848, in Paris, the insurrection was vanquished.

In Berlin in 1848, the people were victorious partly through a considerable accession of new fighting forces during the night and the morning of the 19th, partly as a result of the exhaustion and bad victualing of the troops, and, finally, partly as a result of the paralysed command.

But in all cases the fight was won because the troops failed to obey, because the officers lost their power of decision or because their hands were tied.

Even in the classic time of street fighting, therefore, the barricade produced more of a moral than a material effect.

It was a means of shaking the steadfastness of the military. If it held out until this was attained, then victory was won; if not, there was defeat

This is the main point, which must be kept in view, likewise when the chances of contingent future street fights are examined.

## **DO YOU HAVE A FRIEND OR RELATIVE IN MILITARY SERVICE?**

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**Send email requests to address up top or write to: The Military Resistance, Box 126, 2576 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10025-5657. Phone: 888.711.2550**

**“Of All Persons, Therefore, The Productive Worker Has Least Command Over The Services Of Unproductive Workers, Although He Has Most To Pay For The Involuntary Services (The State And Taxes)”**

**“The Artisan Or Peasant Who Produces With His Own Means Of Production Will Either Gradually Be Transformed Into A Small Capitalist Who Also Exploits The Labour Of Others, Or He Will Suffer The Loss Of His Means Of Production And Be Transformed Into A Wage Worker”**

**“It Can Therefore Be Assumed That The Whole World Of Commodities, All Spheres Of Material Production — The Production Of Material Wealth — Are Subordinated To The Capitalist Mode Of Production”**

From Karl Marx, *Theories Of Surplus Value*; International Publishers; New York, 1952

The performance of certain services, or the use values resulting from certain activities or labours, are embodied in commodities; others on the contrary leave no tangible results separate from the persons themselves; or, their result is not a vendible commodity.

For example, the service rendered to me by a singer satisfies my aesthetic need; but what I enjoy exists only in an action inseparable from the singer himself; and as soon as his labour, the singing, comes to an end my enjoyment is also over; I enjoy the activity itself — its reverberation on my ear.

These services themselves, like the commodities which I buy, may be necessary or may only seem necessary — for example the service of a soldier, a doctor or a lawyer; or they may be services which only yield enjoyment. But this makes no difference to their economic character.

If I am in good health and do not need a doctor, or have the good luck not to be involved in a lawsuit, I avoid paying out money for medical or legal services as I do the plague.

The services may also be forced on me: the services of officials, etc.

If I buy the service of a teacher not to develop my faculties but to acquire skills with which I can earn money — or when others buy this teacher for me — and if I really learn something, which in itself is quite independent of the payment for the service — these costs of education, like the costs of my maintenance, belong to the costs of production of my labour power.

But the special usefulness of this service does not alter the economic relation; it is not a relation in which I transform money into capital, or whereby the supplier of the service, the teacher, transforms me into his capitalist, his master.

Consequently it also does not affect the economic character of this relation whether the doctor cures me or the teacher makes a success of teaching me or the lawyer wins my lawsuit. What is paid for is the performance of the service as such, and by its very nature the result cannot be guaranteed by those who render the service.

A great part of services belongs to the costs of consumption of commodities, such as those of a cook, maid, etc.

It is characteristic of all unproductive labours that they are at my disposal — as is the case in the purchase of all other commodities for consumption — in the same proportion as that in which I exploit productive workers.

**Of all persons, therefore, the productive worker has least command over the services of unproductive workers, although he has most to pay for the involuntary services (the State and taxes).**

*Vice versa*, however, my power to employ productive workers does not at all increase in proportion to the extent that I employ unproductive workers, but on the contrary falls in the same proportion.

Productive workers may, in relation to me, be unproductive workers.

For example, if I have my house re-papered, and the paper-hangers are wage workers of an employer who sells me the job, it is just the same for me as if I had bought a house already papered: I would have expended money for a commodity for my consumption; but for the employer who gets these workers to hang the paper they are productive workers, for they produce surplus value for him.

What then is the position of independent handicraftsmen or peasants who employ no workers and therefore do not produce as capitalists?

Either, as always in the case of the peasant (but not for example of a gardener whom I get to come to my house), they are commodity producers and I buy the commodity from them — in which case it makes no difference for example that the handicraftsman supplies it to order or the peasant brings to market what he can.

In this relationship they meet me as sellers of commodities, not as sellers of labour, and this relation has therefore nothing at all to do with the exchange of capital, and therefore also nothing to do with the distinction between productive and unproductive labour, which is based purely on whether the labour is exchanged with money as money or with money as capital.

They therefore belong neither to the category of productive nor to that of unproductive workers, although they are producers of commodities. But their production does not fall under the capitalist mode of production.

It is possible that these producers working with their own means of production not only reproduce their labour power but create surplus value, since their position makes it possible for them to appropriate their own surplus labour or a part of it (as one part is taken from them in the form of taxes, etc.).

And here we come up against a peculiarity that is characteristic of a society in which one definite mode of production predominates, although all productive relations have not yet been subordinated to it.

In feudal society, for example, as we can best observe in England because here the system of feudalism was introduced ready made from Normandy and its form was impressed on what was in many respects a different social foundation — even productive relations which were far removed from the nature of feudalism were given a feudal form; for example, simple money relations in which there was no trace of mutual personal service as between suzerain and vassal, for instance the fiction that the small peasant held his property as a fief.

In just the same way in the capitalist mode of production the independent peasant or handicraftsman is sundered into two persons.

As owner of the means of production he is capitalist, as worker he is his own wage worker.

As capitalist, he therefore pays himself his wages and draws his profit from his capital; that is to say, he exploits himself as wage worker and pays himself with the surplus value, the tribute that labour owes to capital.

Perhaps he also pays himself a third part as landowner (rent), in the same way, as we shall see later, that the industrial capitalist who works with his own capital pays himself interest and regards this as something which he owes to himself not as an industrial capitalist, but *qua* capitalist pure and simple.

The social character of the means of production in capitalist production — the fact that they express a definite productive relation — has so grown together with, and in the mode of thought of bourgeois society is so inseparable from, the material existence of these means of production as means of production, that the same definition (definite category) is applied even where the relation is the very opposite.

The means of production become capital only in so far as they have become an independent power confronting labour.

In the case mentioned the producer — the worker — is the possessor, owner, of his means of production.

They are therefore not capital, any more than in relation to them he is a wage worker.

Nevertheless they are thought of as capital, and he himself is split in two, so that as capitalist he employs himself as wage worker

In fact this way of presenting it, however irrational it may seem at first sight, is nevertheless correct in so far as the producer in such a case actually creates his own surplus value (assuming that he sells his commodity at its value), or the whole product materialises only his own labour.

That he is able to appropriate to himself the whole product of his own labour, and that the excess of the value of his product over the average price of his day's labour is not appropriated by someone else, he owes however not to his labour — which does not distinguish him from other workers — but to his ownership of the means of production.

It is therefore only through his ownership of these that he takes possession of his own surplus labour, and thus arises his relation, as his own capitalist, to himself as wage worker.

The separation between the two is the normal relation in this society.

Where therefore it does not in fact exist, it is presumed, and, as shown above, up to a point with justice; for (as distinct for example from conditions in Ancient Rome or Norway or in the North-West of the United States) in this society the unity appears as accidental, the separation as normal, and consequently the separation is maintained as the relation, even when one person unites the different functions.

Here emerges in a very striking way the fact that the capitalist as such is only a function of capital, the worker a function of labour power.

**For it is also a law that economic development divides out functions among different persons, and the artisan or peasant who produces with his own means of production will either gradually be transformed into a small capitalist who also exploits the labour of others, or he will suffer the loss of his means of production (this may happen to begin with although he remains their nominal owner, as in a mortgage) and be transformed into a wage worker.**

This is the tendency in the form of society in which the capitalist mode of production predominates.

**In examining the essential relations of capitalist production it can therefore be assumed that the whole world of commodities, all spheres of material production — the production of material wealth — are subordinated (formally or really) to the capitalist mode of production (since this is being continuously approximated to, is in principle the goal of capitalist production, and only if this is realised will the productive power of labour be developed to its highest point).**

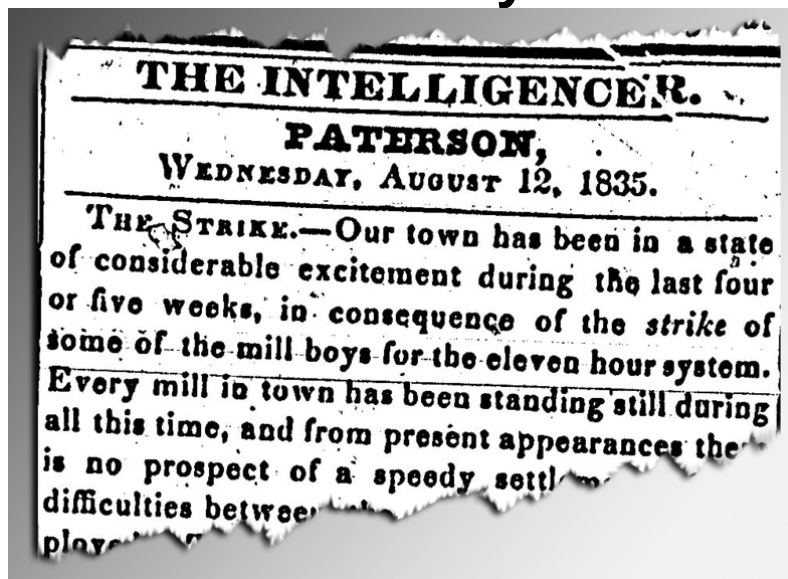
On this premise, which expresses the goal (limit), and which therefore is constantly coming closer to exact truth, all workers engaged in the production of commodities are wage workers, and the means of production in all these spheres confront them as capital.

It can then be said to be a characteristic of productive workers, that is, of capital-producing workers, that their labour is realised in commodities, in material wealth.

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## ANNIVERSARIES

### **July 3, 1835: Honorable Anniversary; Children Go On Strike For An 11-Hour Workday**



Carl Bunin Peace History June 29 - July 5

Progressivehistorians.com:

On July 3, 1835, in Paterson, New Jersey, nearly 2,000 textile workers walked off the job.

The strike was notable for several reasons.

For one thing the strikers weren't demanding more money, despite the fact that they only made \$2 a week (adjusted for inflation, that would be \$44 a week today).

Their central demand was an 11-hour day (as opposed to the 13.5-hour days they were currently working), and only 9 hours on Saturday instead of a full day.

That in itself was significant enough. The first strike in American history to limit hours had happened only 7 years earlier, and was also in Paterson, New Jersey. That strike had been crushed after a week when the militia was called in.

**What made this strike worth remembering was who the strikers were - they were children, aged 10 to 18. Many of them girls.**

Before the month was out the parents of Paterson had joined together to form the "Paterson Association for the Protection of the Working Classes of Paterson". Through the Association a "vigilance committee" was formed to organize support. In 1835 there was no such thing as a labor union. Back then there were only guilds for skilled workers. Nothing like that existed for textile workers, much less for children.

The management flat-out refused to negotiate with the Association, or any worker's organization. In response, the Association appealed to help from other workers. Women textile workers in other mills around Paterson walked out. Mechanics from Newark set up a committee to raise funds and investigate the working conditions in Paterson. This is what they found:

"(conditions in the Paterson mills) belong rather to the dark ages than to the present times, and would be more congenial to the climate of his majesty the emperor and autocrat of all the Russians, than "this land of the free and home of the brave," this boasted asylum for the oppressed of all nations."

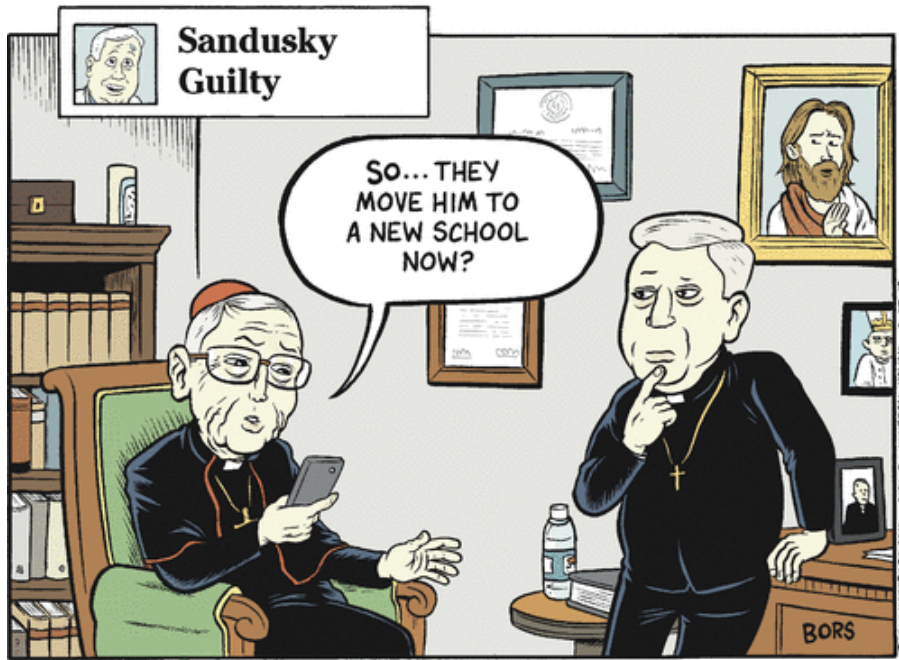
After six weeks a deal was struck between the Association and the management. They would split the difference: the children of Paterson would only have to work 12 hours a day during the week, and 9 hours on Saturday; a 69-hour week. The children who continued to hold out for the 11-hour day were fired and blacklisted.

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# DANGER: POLITICIANS AT WORK



# CLASS WAR REPORTS





### **Troops Invited:**

Comments, arguments, articles, and letters from service men and women, and veterans, are especially welcome. Write to Box 126, 2576 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10025-5657 or email [contact@militaryproject.org](mailto:contact@militaryproject.org): Name, I.D., withheld unless you request publication. Same address to unsubscribe.

## **As Hopes For Reform Fade In Bahrain, Protesters Turn Anger On United States:**

**“A Young Man Held Up A Sign Reading, ‘The American Administration Supports The Dictatorship In Bahrain’”**  
**“Protesters Burned American Flags”**



Young men protested American support of Bahrain's government at a rally in Manama last month. The Obama administration recently resumed arms sales there. Ed Ou for The New York Times

June 23, 2012 By KAREEM FAHIM, The New York Times [Excerpts]

**MANAMA, Bahrain — In a dark alleyway of a low-slung suburb here, two dozen protesters gathered quietly and prepared to march toward a United States naval base.**

A teenager wrapped his scarf close to his mouth, bracing for tear gas. A man peeked out of his doorway, holding his infant daughter above his head, to show her a ritual of defiance that has become a grinding way of life.

**For months, the protests have aimed at the ruling monarchy, but recently they have focused on a new target. To their familiar slogans — demanding freedoms, praising God and cursing the ruling family — the young protesters added a new demand, written on a placard in English, so the Americans might see: “U.S.A. Stop arming the killers.”**

Thousands of Bahrainis rose up 16 months ago, demanding political liberties, social equality and an end to corruption. But the Sunni monarchy, seen by the United States and Saudi Arabia as a strategic ally and as a bulwark against Iran, was never left to face the rage on its own.

More than a thousand Saudi troops helped put down the uprising and remain in Bahrain, making it a virtual protectorate.

**The United States, a sometimes critical but ultimately unshakable friend, has called for political reform but strengthened its support for the government.**

**Last month, the Obama administration resumed arms sales here.**

Backed by powerful allies, the government has pursued reform on its own terms.

Dialogue between the country’s Shiite majority and the king has stopped.

**Twenty-one of the most prominent dissidents still languish in prison, and no senior officials have been convicted of crimes, including dozens of killings, that occurred during the crackdown last year. Opposition activists are still regularly detained or interrogated for their words.**

**On Friday, in what activists called a dangerous escalation, riot police officers forcefully dispersed a rally by Bahrain’s largest opposition party, injuring its leader.**

Every night, protesters march and clashes erupt, in a violent standoff that often seems a breath away from an explosion.

Some Bahrainis had pinned hopes for reconciliation on a report, issued six months ago, that investigated the events of February and March 2011 and found that the security forces had used indiscriminate force and torture in putting down the uprising. King Hamad bin Isa al-Khalifa promised to heed the report’s findings and punish officials responsible for abuse.

The justice minister, Khalid bin Ali al-Khalifa, said the polarization in Bahrain had not “reached a dangerous level yet.”

“It reaches a dangerous level when you don’t have a government in place,” he said, warning also about the increased use of incendiary devices by some protesters. “Many of the people are getting along with each other.”

John F. Timoney, a former Philadelphia and Miami police chief who was hired to help reform a Bahraini police force implicated in torture and killings, said that new curriculums were being taught at the police academy and that police stations were being fitted with cameras to prevent torture during investigations.

He also said that the current climate could overwhelm his efforts.

“It’s a heavy lift, changing the culture,” he said. “If there’s no political solution here, it’s all for naught.”

The possibility of a solution seems remote.

Opposition groups and human rights activists say that the reforms leave the state’s undemocratic core intact, and that they fail to address central grievances like corruption and the institutionalized discrimination against the Shiite majority.

Nabi Saleh, an island suburb of the capital, graphically illustrates their complaints.

A Shiite village in the center is surrounded by seafront homes or compounds that residents say belong to government loyalists, members of the royal family or expatriates. Two slivers of beach are available for the public.

During the day, police officers sit at the entrance to town, tear-gas launchers on their laps, waiting for the inevitable nightly skirmishes with young people in the village.

A few months ago, when one of the village’s few Sunni residents put his house up for sale — fed up with the nightly smell of tear gas — his neighbors begged him to reconsider, and he did.

“This government wants us to separate,” said the man, a business owner who requested anonymity, fearing retribution by the authorities.

He added, speaking of the royal family, “When their chairs shake, they take action.”

Men like Ali, 22, a resident of the island, are shaking their chairs. Several months back, during an antigovernment protest, he lost an eye to a concussion grenade fired by the police. After he was fitted with a glass eye, he quickly returned to the streets.

He said he had no intention of stopping now.

“Until they fall,” he said.

Opposition activists say the government often casts them as a fifth column, backed by Iran and bent on toppling the Khalifa dynasty, which conquered Bahrain in the 18th century.

At a rally at a Manama mosque last month, a mostly Sunni crowd gathered in support of a proposed union with Saudi Arabia.

The monarchy has said such a union would strike a blow to Iranian interference in Bahrain. There is scant evidence of any direct interference, though Iranian officials frequently proclaim their solidarity with the protesters.

People stubbed out cigarettes on a portrait of Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, Iran's supreme leader. Sheik Abdul Latif Mahmoud, the leader of a Sunni political group, warned darkly of a plot to "redivide" the region.

"Those who created the crisis wanted us to separate from each other on a sectarian basis," Mr. Mahmoud said.

Bahrain's mainstream Shiite political opposition has taken a gradualist approach to reform, calling for a constitutional monarchy.

"Saying we want to bring the regime down makes Sunnis live in fear," said Hadi Hasan al-Mosawi of the Wefaq party, the largest Shiite opposition group. "We don't want to threaten people."

Opposition activists say Wefaq is losing support from members frustrated with its inability to bring change and independent activists frustrated with its religious focus and limited view of reform. "When a huge number loses patience, what will happen?" Mr. Mosawi asked.

**The march on the American naval base, the headquarters of the Fifth Fleet, never reached its destination. When the protesters got to the road leading to the base, riot officers surrounded them and fired tear gas.**

**It was one of several protests last month that focused on Bahrain's decades-old alliance with the United States, which includes close military cooperation and a free-trade agreement. Days earlier, the Obama administration announced the resumption of arms sales after a seven-month suspension.**

**At the start of the uprising last year, a spokeswoman for the United States Navy said that the protests "were not against the United States or the United States military or anything of that nature."**

**That has changed.**

In a Shiite village, protesters burned American flags, and in another, a young man held up a sign reading, "The American administration supports the dictatorship in Bahrain."

**Activists frequently liken United States statements — condemning violence by both the government and its opponents — to Russia's on Syria.**

A senior Obama administration official said last month that the weapons sales would not include arms used for crowd control like tear gas.

Security challenges required the sale, the official said, adding: "Maintaining our and our partners' ability to respond to those challenges is an important component of our commitment to gulf security."

Officials framed the sales as an attempt to support Crown Prince Salman bin Hamad bin Isa al-Khalifa, who was visiting Washington at the time and is seen as representing a reform-minded faction in the government.

Many analysts say it is too late for such a strategy.

After the uprising was put down by force in the spring of 2011, they say, hard-liners in the government, backed by the Saudis, became ascendant, eclipsing the reform faction represented by the crown prince.

**A young activist with the Bahrain Center for Human Rights who attended the march, Said Yousif al-Muhafdah, said he was unmoved by American assertions that the country was pressuring the Bahraini government.**

**"I don't want to say Hillary Clinton is lying," he said. "I want to say this government doesn't care."**

**The American approach faced a critical test this month. Doctors who had been convicted in a military court for their participation in the popular uprising, on charges widely seen as political, appeared before an appeals court.**

**Michael H. Posner, the assistant secretary of state for democracy, human rights and labor, had taken up their case and said he had tried to get the government to dismiss the charges, several of the doctors said.**

**Mr. Posner was visiting Bahrain when the verdicts were announced: nine of the convictions were upheld. He said the United States was "deeply disappointed."**

**MORE**

## **Bahrain Puts Boy Aged 11 On Trial For Alleged Role In Roadblock**

### **Protest:**

**Ali Hasan Says He Was Just Playing  
In The Street When He Was Arrested;**

## He Was Forced To Confess And Was Detained In Jail



Ali Hasan, flashes the victory sign after he was released on bail. Hasan Jamali/AP

19 June 2012 By Saeed Kamali Dehghan, Guardian [Excerpts]

At a time when most 11-year-old boys are looking forward to the school holidays, Ali Hasan is preparing for his trial.

On Wednesday morning the primary school pupil from suburban Manama will stand in a Bahrain court and listen as the case against him is spelt out.

The prosecution case: that Ali helped protesters block a street with rubbish containers and wood during demonstrations last month.

Ali's defence: that he's a child who was just playing with friends in the street.

"On the day before I was arrested there was some fighting in the streets near my house between the demonstrators and the police," Ali told the Guardian by phone from his home in the Bilad al-Qadeem suburb. "The demonstrators had blocked the street by setting fire to tyres and using containers in which people dispose of their rubbish.

"The day after this I went to the street with two of my friends to play. It was around 3pm. While we were playing there, some police forces came towards us which made us panic. My friends managed to run away ... but I was so scared by the guns they were carrying that I couldn't move ... and I was arrested."

**Bahrain's rulers have proved ruthless in the cases they have pursued against those accused of involvement in 15 months of protests against the Khalifa dynasty, with prosecutions against doctors, nurses and rights activists.**

**Ali Hasan's case marks a new precedent in the legal crackdown against civil society.**

**He is believed to be the youngest Bahraini to stand trial in connection with the uprising.**

**Ali has already spent weeks in jail before he was bailed last week, and even sat his exams in prison.**

**After his arrest he was taken to various police stations where he said he was forced to confess to taking part in anti-government demonstrations.**

**"I was crying all the time. I told them I'd confess to anything to go back home," he said.**

Ali's father, Jasem Hasan, a car parts dealer, said his son was taken back to the detention centre the day after his arrest.

"I was abroad at the time and when I called Ali's mother was only crying. She was crying for all the time Ali was in prison," he said.

In jail Ali spent a month in a room with three other children and was made to clean the centre.

"We would wake up early in the morning for breakfast, usually around 6.30, and then I had to do some job," he said. "The first day in jail was horrible. I cried all the time but I became friends with the other boys there and we could play for four hours every day – but had to spend all our other time in a locked room."

Describing the centre, he said: "It's like putting a bear in a box, I felt just like that. I never want to go back to that place again."

**Bahrain's chief prosecutor for those under 18, Noura Al-Khalifa, has said that Ali was detained while blocking the street and Bahraini information officials have alleged that Ali was participating in an "illegal gathering" along with other protesters.**

**Ali's father said the allegations were lies.**

**"They claimed that my son had accepted money in exchange for setting fire to tyres and blocking the road," he said.**

**"I don't say I'm a rich person but I make enough money and my son doesn't need to go in streets looking for money. I always give enough money to him."**

**Ali's lawyer, Mohsen al-Alawi, said the boy was nothing to do with the demonstrations.**

**"Ali was not a political activist or a demonstrator. He was only playing games like all other children of his age."**

Human Rights Watch has expressed concerns about Ali's case. "He was not accompanied by a lawyer during his questioning," said HRW's Mariwan Hama-Saeed.

**"It seems the only evidence used against him is his own confession and the testimony of a police officer."**

The UK and US governments have been criticised for maintaining close relations with the Bahraini leadership, and failing to address human rights abuses in an uprising that has left scores dead.

The Foreign Office did not respond to the Guardian's request for comments on Ali Hasan's case at the time of publication.

Hassiba Hadj Sahraoui, deputy director for the Middle East and North Africa programme at Amnesty International, said: "Arresting an 11-year-old boy, interrogating him for hours without a lawyer before trying him on spurious charges shows a jaw-dropping lack of respect for his rights."

She added that such treatment was completely out of step with international standards, or even Bahrain's own penal code.

"This case shows the excessive means the Bahraini authorities have resorted to in order to crush protest. I hope they will see sense and drop all the charges against Ali Hassan."

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